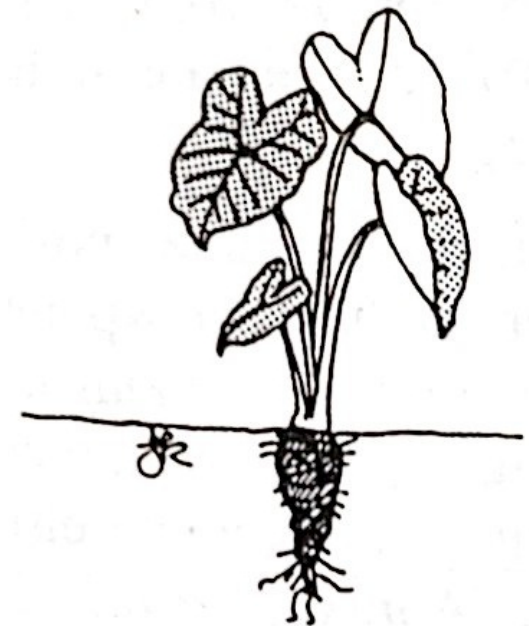
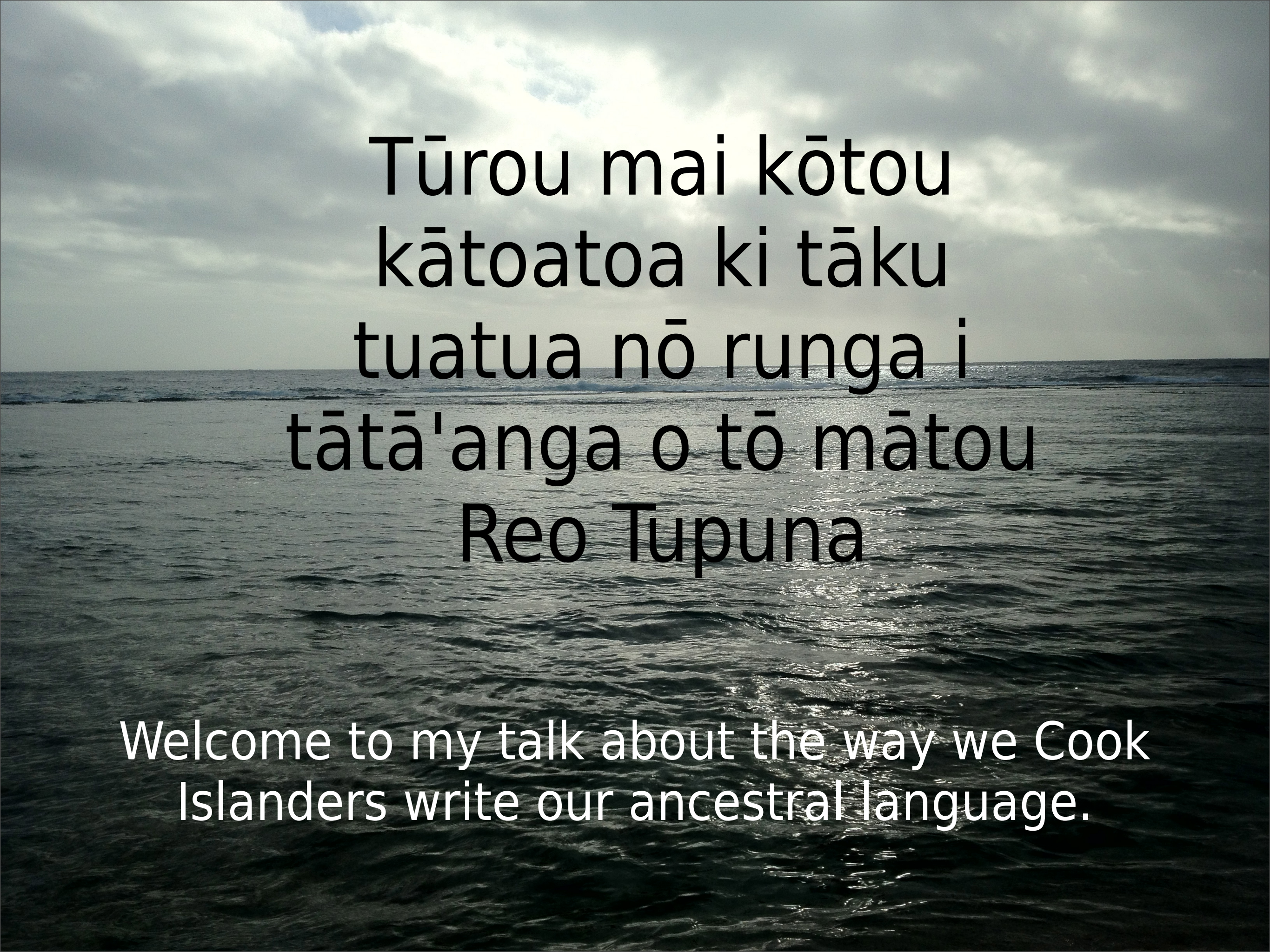


Orthographic Reform in Cook Islands Māori: Human Considerations and Language Revitalisation Implications

The 3rd International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC), “Sharing Worlds of Knowledge,” 28 March, 2013

Sally Akevai Te Namu Nicholas,
University of Auckland
Aotearoa/NZ



A dramatic seascape with a cloudy sky and a sun reflecting on the water. The sun is low on the horizon, creating a bright reflection on the dark, choppy water. The sky is filled with heavy, grey clouds, and the overall tone is somber and majestic.

Tūrou mai kōtou
kātoatoa ki tāku
tuatua nō runga i
tātā'anga o tō mātou
Reo Tupuna

Welcome to my talk about the way we Cook
Islanders write our ancestral language.

Overview



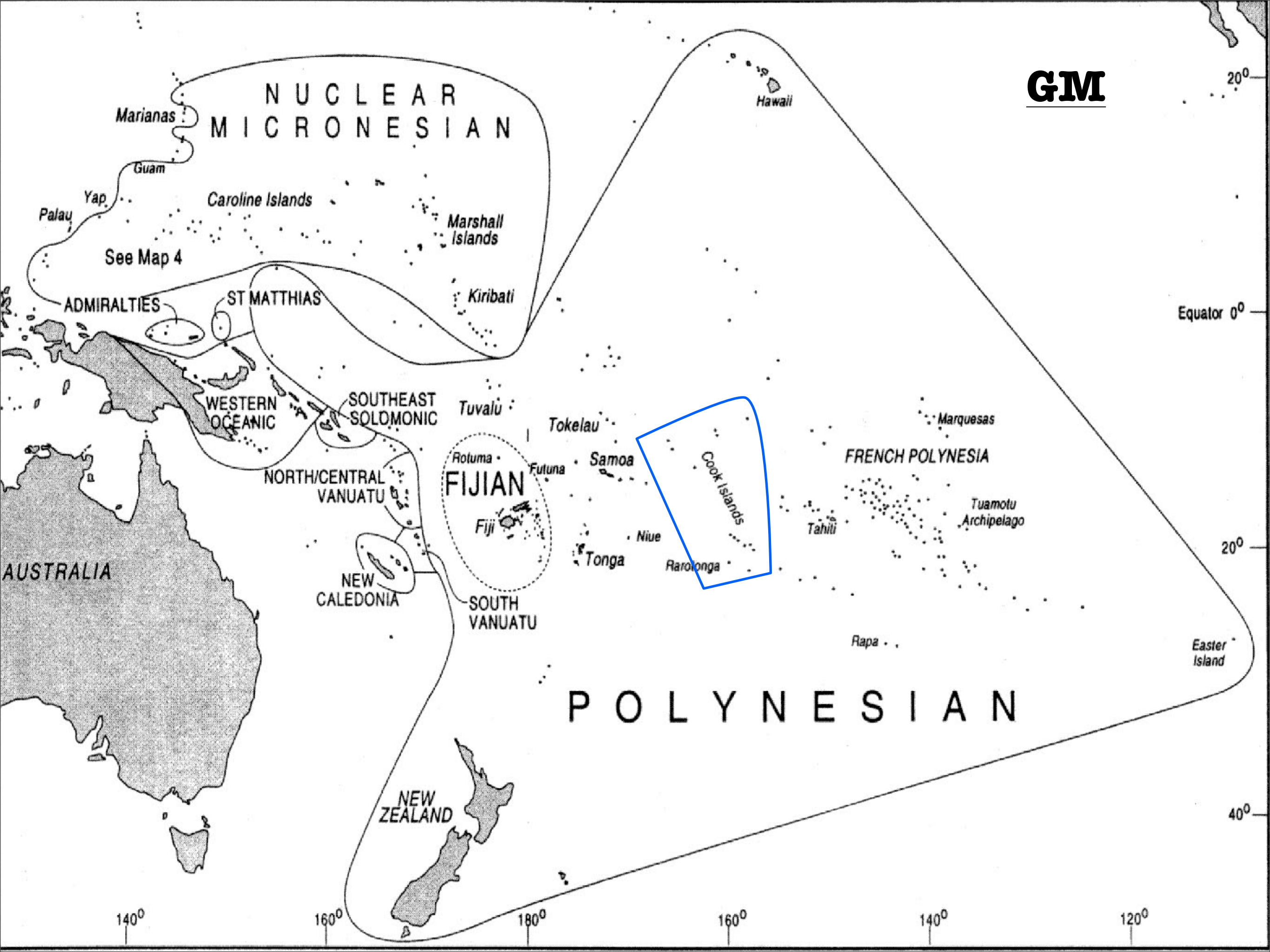
1. Introduction/Background
2. Orthographic History
3. Linguistic Considerations
4. Human Considerations:
The Current Process
5. Prospects

Section 1 Introduction

Te Tūranga o te Kuki Airani

Location

GM



Te Tūranga 'enua
ē te Te Ra'ianga o te
'Iti tangata

Population and composition

Northern Cook Islands

- Rarotonga
- Inhabited Islands
- Uninhabited Islands



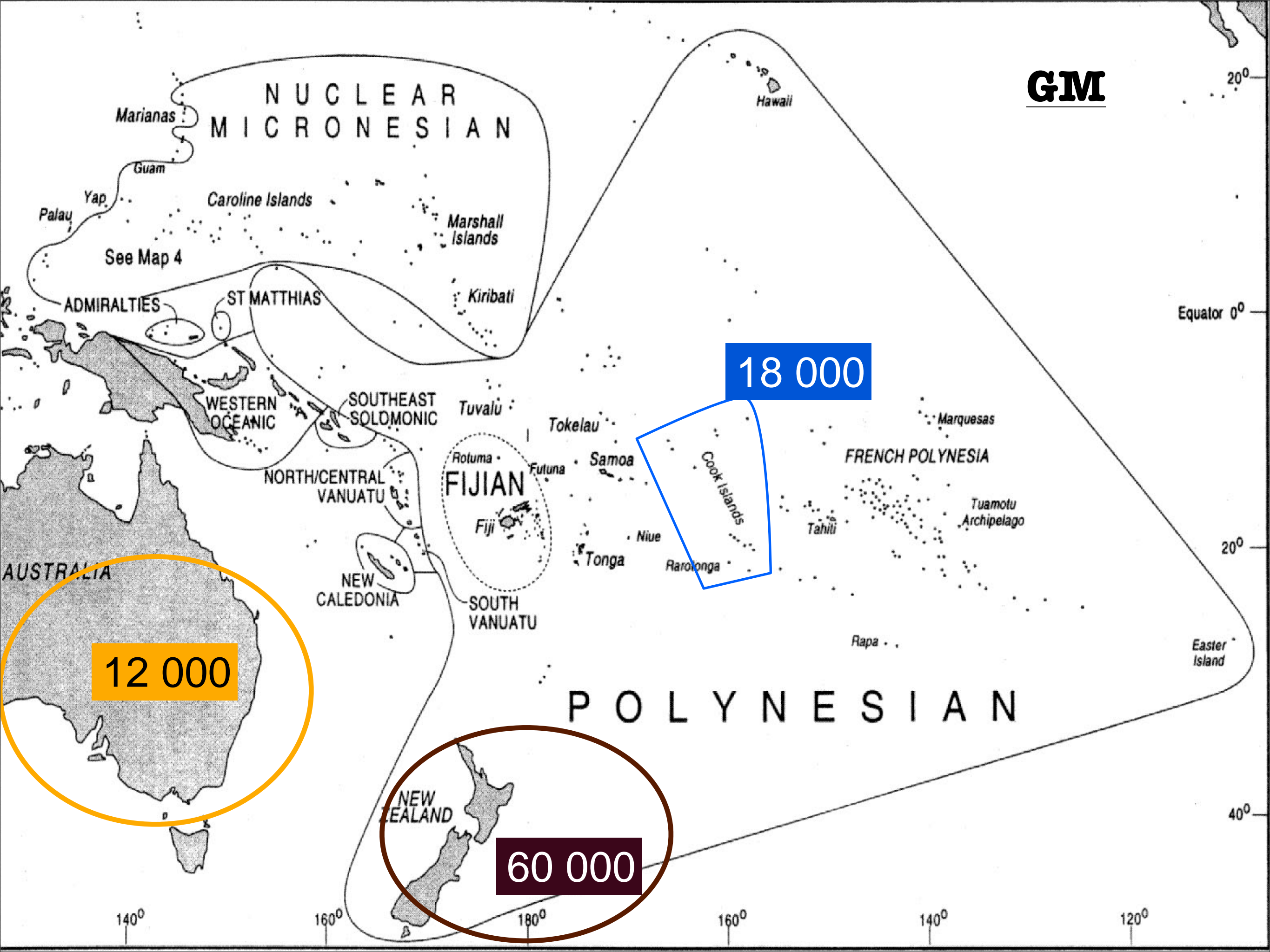
Rarotonga



Southern Cook Islands



GM



Cook Islands Māori?

'E a'a tēia?

Indigenous Languages of the Cook Islands

1. **Pukapukan** (Samoic/Ellecian)

2: **Cook Islands Māori** (East
Polynesian, Tahitic)

Northern Cook Islands Māori

(Manahiki, Rakahanga, Penryn)

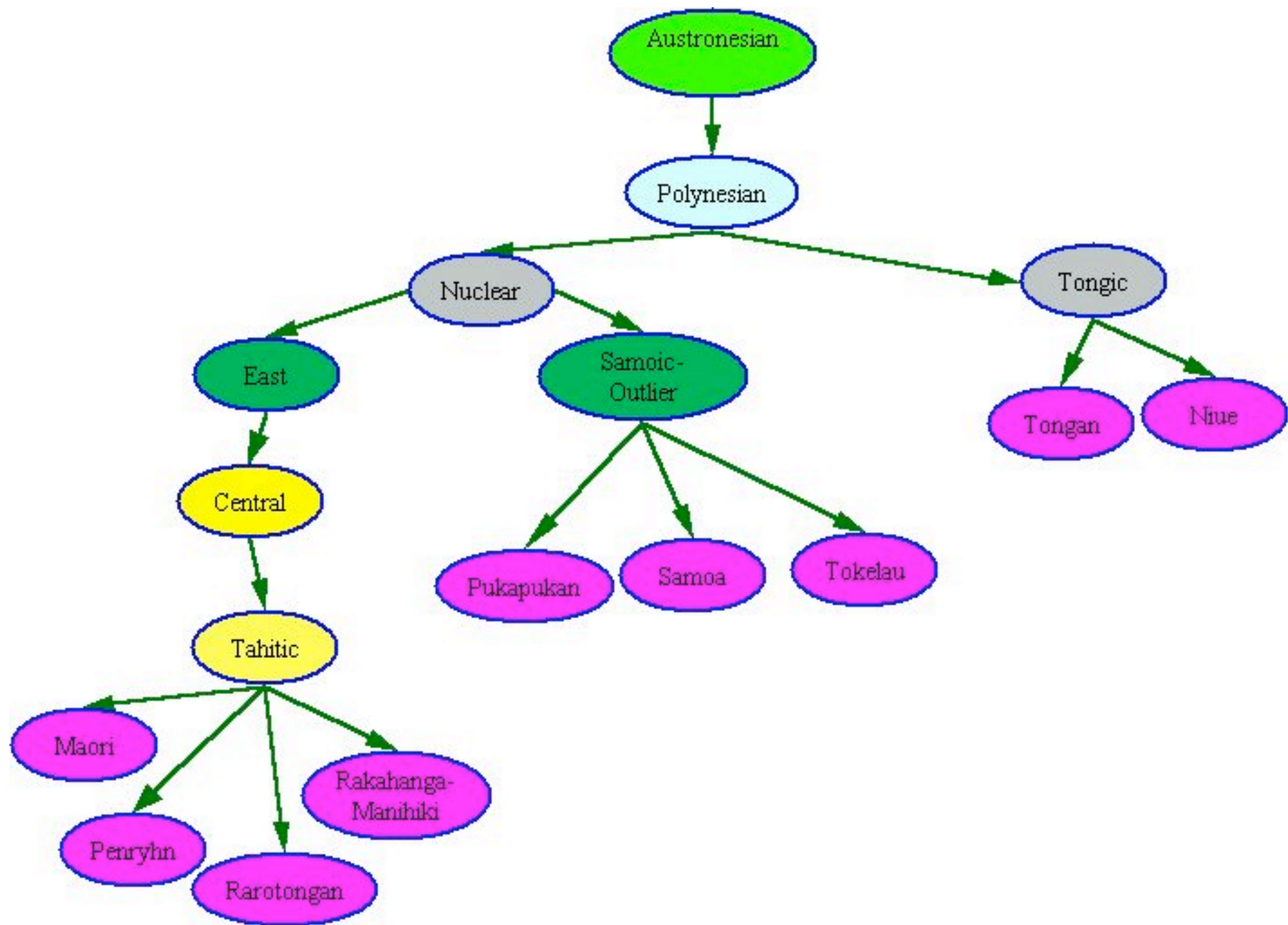
Southern Cook Islands Māori

(Rarotonga, Ngā Pū Toru ('Atiu, Ma'uke,
Mitiaro), Aitutaki, Mangaia)



Te papa'anga o te Reo Māori

Linguo-genetic background



<http://bilingualaotearoa.wikispaces.com/>

East Polynesia

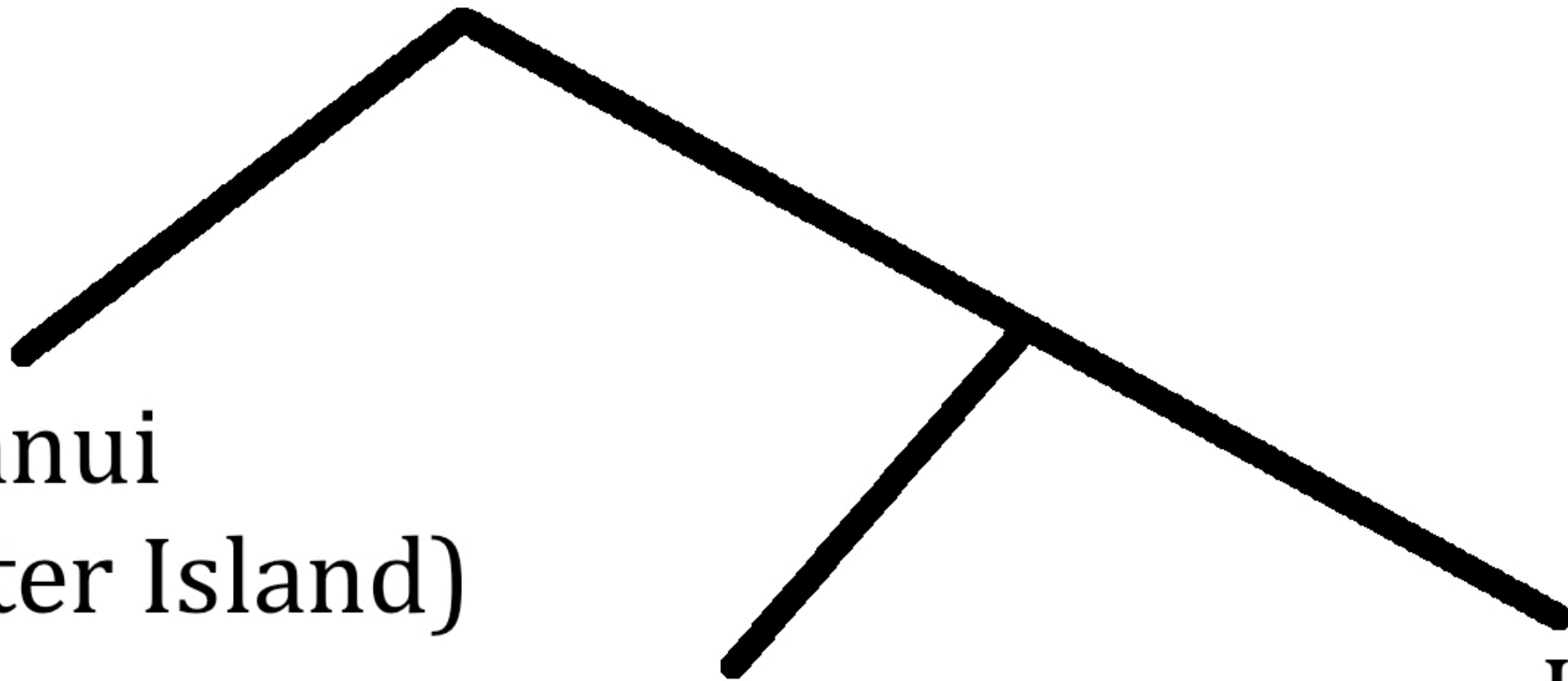
Rapanui
(Easter Island)

Hawai'i

Tahitian

Cook Islands Māori

New Zealand Māori



Te Oranga o te au Reo Kuki
Airani

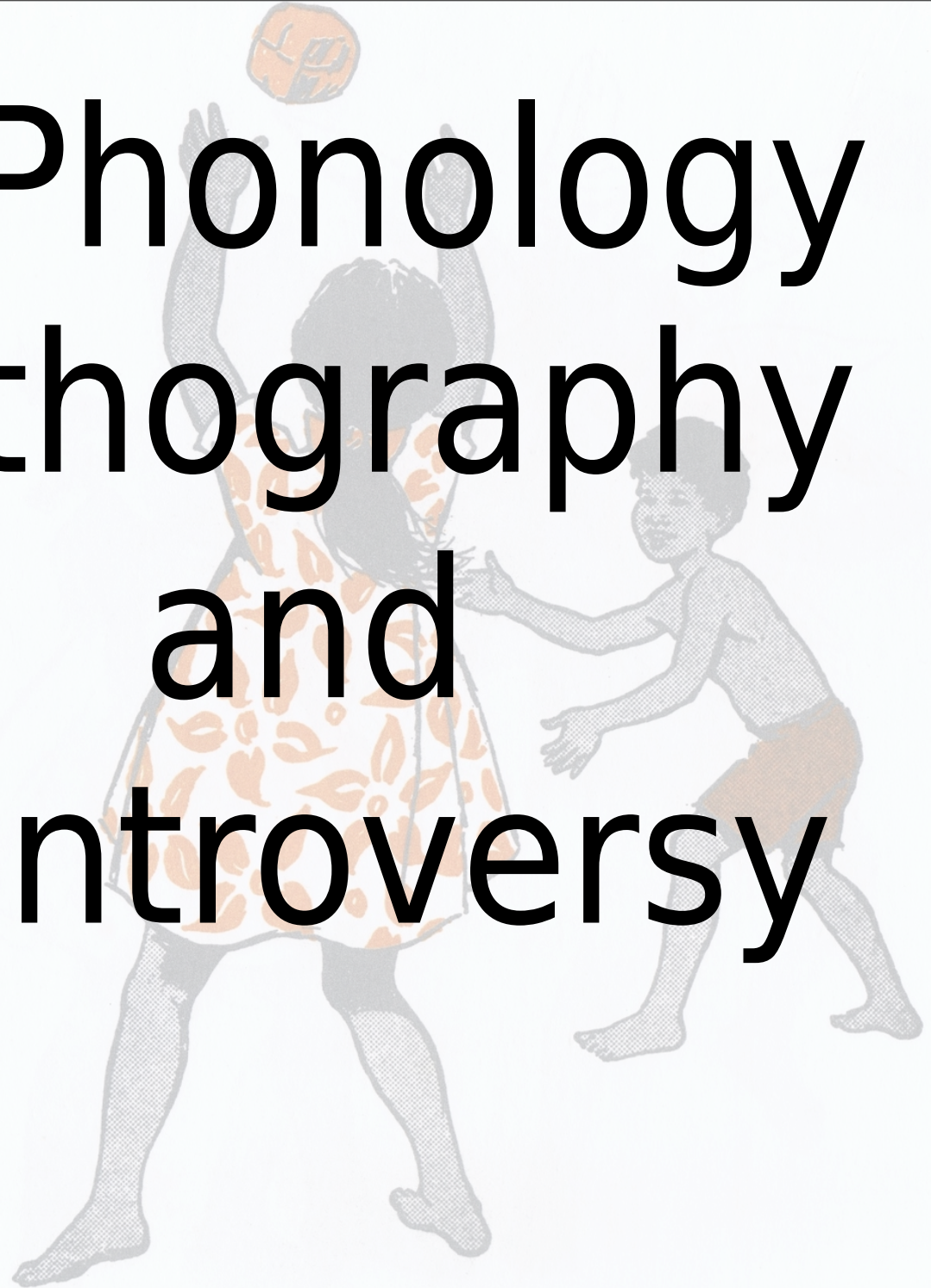
The Status of CIM

The Māori language(s)
of the Cook Islands are
in danger of becoming
languages that are “no
longer spoken”



E poro manea.
E pei mai i te poro.
E Ta e pei mai i te poro.

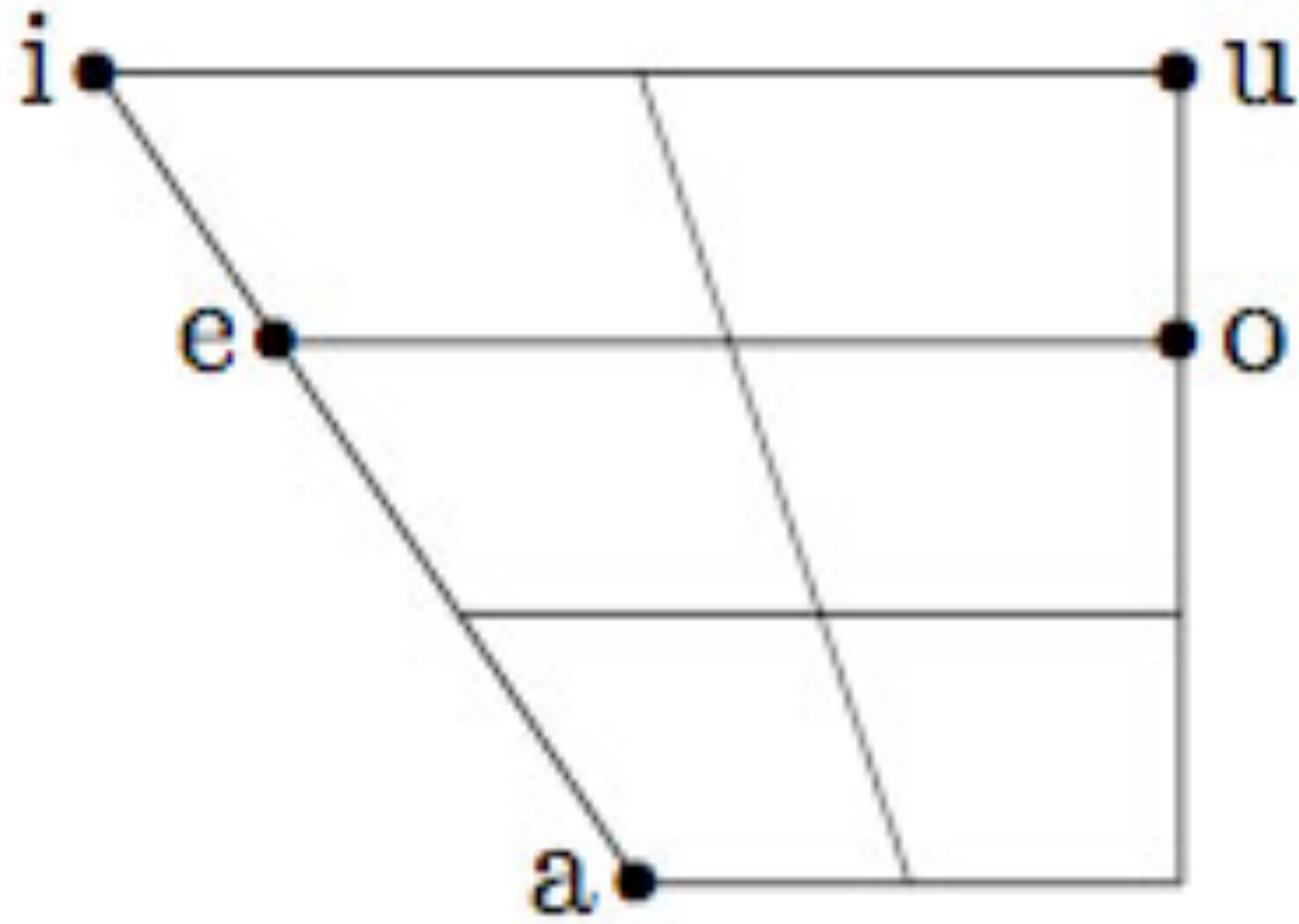
2: Phonology Orthography and Controversy



'E pōro mānea.
E pē'i mai i te pōro!
E Tā e pē'i mai i te pōro!

Phoneme Inventory

5 Vowel System



Two degrees of phonemic
Vowel Length are
distinguished

Consonant Inventory: Southern Dialects

Stops: p t k ʔ

Fricatives: v

Nasals: m n ŋ

Liquid: r

v/w

r/l

t: dental, un-aspirated

Consonant Inventory: Manihiki/Rakahanga

Stops: p t k **h**

Fricatives: **v****f**

Nasals: m n ŋ

Liquid: r

v/w

r (tap)/l

t: dental, un-aspirated

Consonant Inventory: Tongareva

Stops: p t k **h**

Fricatives: v **s**

Nasals: m n ŋ

Liquid: **l**

v/w

r (tap) /l

t: dental, un-aspirated

The Missionary Orthography of 1888

Vowel Length is unmarked

Glottal Stop is unmarked

Poorly integrated loan words.

A few other bizarre things (eg ai thing)

Semi Official Modern Alphabet

a e ng (ŋ) f h i k l m n o p r s t u v

ʻ (?)

ā ē ī ō ū

(a, 'a, ā, 'ā), (e, 'e, ē, 'ē), ng, f, h, (i, 'i, ī, 'ī), k, l, m, n, (o, 'o, ō, 'ō), p, r, s, t, (u, 'u, ū, 'ū), v.

Te Au Reta i Roto i Te Reo Kūki Airani Māori

A bilingual wallchart developed by EthnicWord
to preserve and nurture Pasifika languages



**Cook Islands Māori Alphabet
with English translation**



The “Buse-Taringa-Biggs-Moeka'a” Orthography 1995

Epenthetic Glottal stops

Buse-Taringa-Biggs-Moeka'a 1995	Kua pāpāia <u>ʼ</u> a Temu <u>ʼē</u> te pū'āpi'i.
Missionary 1888	Kua papaia a Temu e te puapii.
CIMR 2013	Kua pāpāia a Temu e te pū'āpi'i.

Phonologically Conditioned Vowel Length

Buse-Taringa-Biggs-Moeka'a 1995	K <u>ā</u> 'oki rātou ki te kāinga 'ē <u>ka</u> 'ākara atu i <u>ā</u> koe. Ka 'ākara atu i <u>a</u> Teremoana katoa.
Missionary 1888	Ka oki ratou ki te kainga e ka akara atu iakoe. Ka akara atu ia Teremoana katoa.
CIMR 2013	Ka 'oki rātou ki te kāinga ē ka 'ākara atu i a koe. Ka 'ākara atu i a Teremoana katoa.

Regular Stress

Buse-Taringa-Biggs-Moeka'a 1995	Ka 'aere at <u>ū</u> ra rātou.
Missionary 1888	Ka aere atura ratou.
CIMR 2013	Ka 'aere atura rātou.

Favours morphological word breaks rather than phonological word breaks.

Buse-Taringa-Biggs-Moeka'a 1995	Ka 'ākara atu <u>a ia</u> <u>ki ā ia</u> .
Missionary 1888	Ka akara atu aia kiaia.
CIMR 2013	Ka 'ākara atu aia ki aia.

2 Timoteo 4/18

Vernacular / Missionary

Na te Atu rai e akaora
mai iaku mei te au
kino katoa, e nana rai
e arataki mai iaku ma
te meitaki ki tona
basileia i te ao ra.

Buse

Nā te 'Atu rāi e
'akaora mai i āku mei
te au kino katoa, 'ē
nāna rāi e arataki mai
i āku mā te meitaki ki
tōna bāsileia i te aō
ra.

Section 3

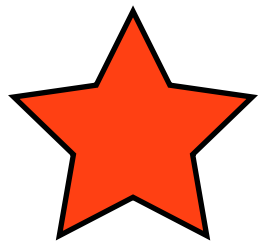
Linguistic Considerations

A Tale of Two Extremes

Missionary/Vernacular Style

too deep

under marked



Used by Most people

Buse-Taringa-Biggs-Moeke'a Style

too shallow

over marked



Few users, mostly NZ based, “school teacher types”

Random application/no model

Why can't we just leave it as it is it's
worked perfectly well for 100 years,
etc....

Less than 30% of the total Cook Islands population in New Zealand said they could speak any dialects of Cook Islands Māori, while fewer than 10% of young Cook Islanders in New Zealand are able to speak their own dialect of the language. (census)

Only 5% of Cook Islands Māori can speak their language.

9699 speakers in NZ (census)

The will be fewer now.

(McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2010)

The **vast** majority of potential future speakers, readers and writers will be L2 and will not be able to draw on a mental lexicon for disambiguation purposes.

Robots prefer more data over less data.

If Proto EP has 10 consonants then the glottal stop covers $2/10$ ($1/5$) of all the consonantal data (falsely assuming equal distribution of course)

SOUTHERN CIM definite has 9 consonants then the glottal stop covers $1/9$ of all the consonantal data (falsely assuming equal distribution of course)

Either which way its heaps

A demonstration of why it is
better to mark the glottal
stop

Bible-style	Gloss	Full Orthography
ai	fire	a'i
ai	to play cat's cradle (string game)	'ai
ai	to copulate	ai

BS: Aere mai ka ai taua

'Aere mai ka '**ai** tāua.

Come here let's play cat's cradle

'Aere mai ka **ai** tāua.

Come here let's copulate

BS: Aere mai ki te ai

'Aere mai ki te **a'i**.

Come to the fire.

'Aere mai ki te **ai**.

Come here to copulate

Bible-style	Gloss	Full Orthography
ika	fish	ika
ika	female genitalia	'ika

BS: E rima ua a tatou manga, e rua oki ika. (Luke 9.13).

'E rima 'ua ā tātou mānga, e rua 'oki ika.

We have no more but five loaves and two fishes (Luke 9.13).

'E rima 'ua ā tātou mānga, e rua 'oki 'ika.

We have no more but five loaves and two vulvas (Luke 9.13????)



Under Marked / Too
“deep”



A happy balance between
clarity and tradition :)



Over Marked / Too
“shallow”

2 Timoteo 4/18

Missionary	Buse	CIMR
<p>Na te Atu rai e akaora mai iaku mei te au kino katoa, e nana rai e arataki mai iaku ma te meitaki ki tona basileia i te ao ra.</p>	<p>Nā te 'Atu rāi e 'akaora mai i āku mei te au kino katoa, 'ē nāna rāi e arataki mai i āku ma te meitaki ki tōna bāsileia i te aō ra.</p>	<p>Nā te Atu rāi e 'akaora mai i āku mei te au kino katoa, ē nāna rāi e arataki mai i āku ma te meitaki ki tōna patireia i te ao ra.</p>

Section 4: Human Considerations



The Missionary Orthography has persisted because:

Language of the Bible

Typewriter Issue → Computer issues

General Conservatism

Not Considered Necessary / Stigmatised

Lack of a “Replacement Standard”.

Difficulties with using (both reading and writing) the Buse Style “over-marked” orthography

A person **who can speak Maori** does not need to have the hamsah indicated in writing...

Perhaps as times goes on it will become common practice to show the hamsah wherever it occurs in a word...

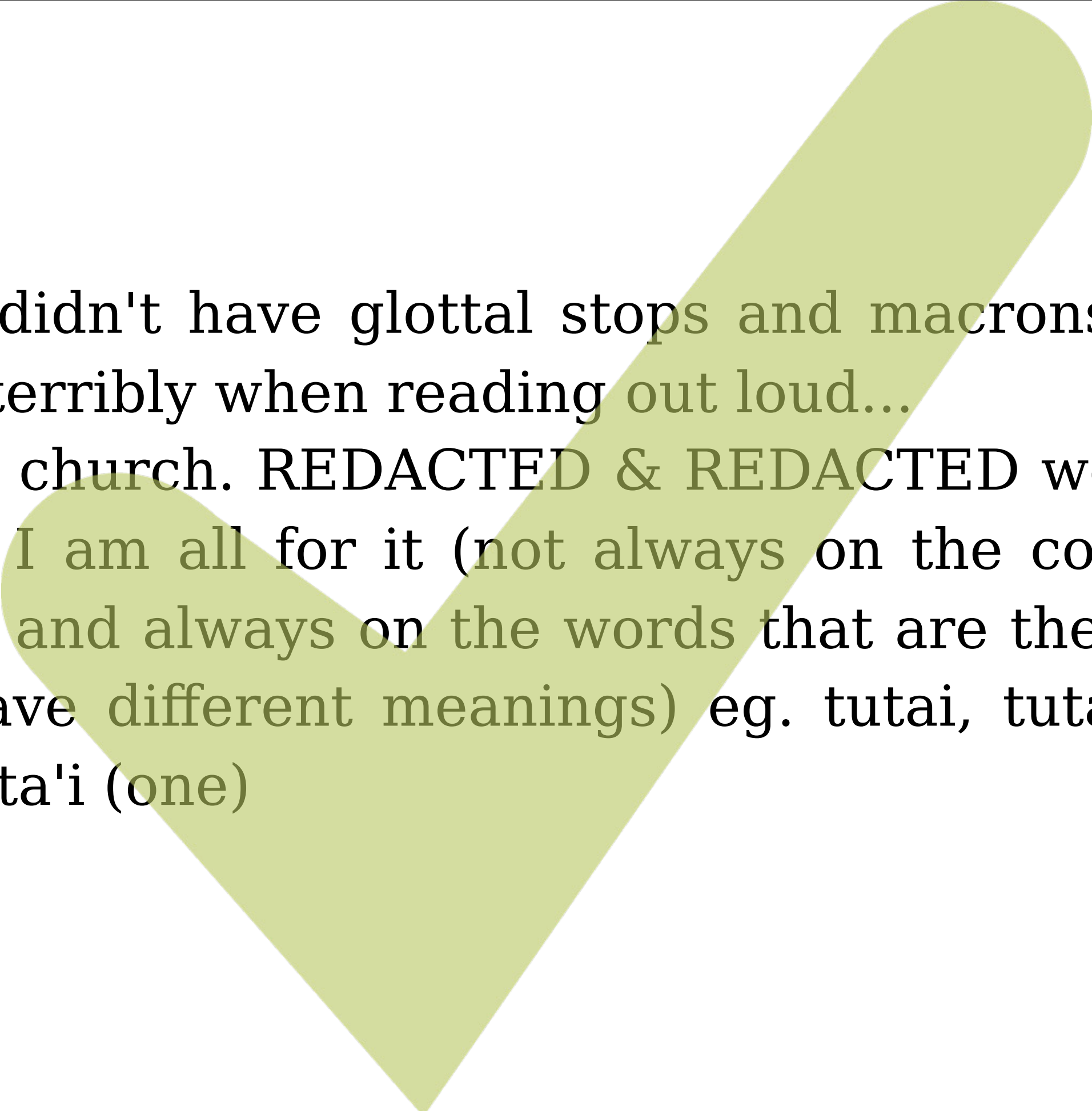
I would not recommend that this be done, because I do not see the need for it. I agree that **the hamsah must be shown in a Maori dictionary**, or in a word that can be confusing, but I do not feel that it's **worth the trouble** to show it wherever it occurs. Our aim should be to keep written Māori as simple as it is. To complicate matters would not do us any good. (Rere, 1977:7)

I further note your use of a macron in the word Maori. That is not the way we Maori Cook Islanders use and speak of the word. Our Maori has no macron unlike the NZ **Māori** which **sounds like a drawn out and over exaggerated use of the word.** I prefer the clean and simple use of the word Maori that we use rather than the overdressed written form the NZ'ers use.

The two Maori people may be related but that doesn't mean one should impose her own Maori spellings and labels on to other Maori people here or elsewhere. The American spelling of their English words like color and program are a classical example of linguistic independence from their former colonial masters.

We too have an identity of our own as expressed in the way we write our word for Maori in true and simple Maori form. I prefer my Maori spelling without the NZ Maori use of the macron. It is pure, liberated and colonial free!!!!

I disagree with NAME REDACTED on the use of macrons. Use away, I say, if we want the language to survive... it helps non-fluent speakers to understand what they are reading, although admittedly it's a nuisance for fluent readers/speakers (but only a minor nuisance). No one has died from using it/ or not using it. The fact we are writing at all is 'colonial'. The language used in this discussion is colonial. Many of us are products of colonialism (my dad came here as an employee of the coloniser). Our whole country runs on a system inherited from the colonials. It's here to stay. All we can do is try to preserve what remains within that system that is ours (the language being one of them). Them's my views



If we didn't have glottal stops and macrons we'd f...up terribly when reading out loud... like in church. REDACTED & REDACTED were all for it. I am all for it (not always on the common words and always on the words that are the same but have different meanings) eg. tutai, tuta'i; tai (sea), ta'i (one)

Our Recent Attempts to have another proper go at it



By Exploiting the Status of the Bible

The Cook Islands Māori
New Testament
Revision as a sneaky
vector for change

Test Process Personnel

- 1 Māori/ Māori Speaker linguist (me)
- Various Native speakers of Māori acting as proof readers
- Various Māori stakeholders from various churches and the CI MOE.
- 1 Papa'ā linguist (Mary Salisbury)
- 1 Papa'ā Bible translation enthusiast (Kevin Salisbury)
- Various Papa'ā Bible Society people
- 30 ish L2 learners (my students) who I'm trying to get to use the system.
 - Yet to be included directly but must be included
 - NZ based Māori speaking Education Experts (The ones most attached to the BTBM system)







Paulo na
atura atūra atu.ra



Language Revitalisation Implications

Accurate Written Record /Corpus

Usable when all the metua (elders) have passed away

Machine Readable

Easier for both L1 children and L2 adults to learn

5 Conclusion: Prospects for “Success”

Better than ever before in a more perilous climate than ever before.

Fortunate timing with the CIMR

Scary numbers finally scary enough (to convince the elders to consider change)

We still have to talk to babies though

We still have to talk to babies though



Kua oti.
Meitaki ma'ata

References

- Balawa, V. (1996). Cook Islands Maori. In Mugler, F., Lynch, J., and of the South Pacific, U., editors, Pacific languages in education. Institute of Pacific Studies ; Dept. of Literature and Language ; Pacific Languages Unit, Suva.
- Buse, J. E. (1960). Rarotongan personal pronouns: Form and distribution. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 23(1):123–137.
- Buse, J. E. (1963a). Rarotongan sentence structures. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 26(3):632–645.
- Buse, J. E. (1963b). The structure of Rarotongan nominal, negative, and conjunctival pieces. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 26(2): 393–419.
- Buse, J. E. (1963c). The structure of the Rarotongan verbal piece. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 26(1):152–169.
- Buse, J. E. (1965). Problems of morphology and classification illustrated from Rarotongan. *Lingua*, 15:32–47.
- Buse, J. E., Taringa, R., Biggs, B., and Moeka'a, R. (1995). Cook Islands Maori dictionary. Government of the Cook Islands; The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; The Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific; The Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland; Pacific linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University., Canberra, ACT.
- Herrman, I. (2005). The current situation: The case of the cook islands. *Directions: Journal of Educational Studies*, 27(1):123–133.
- Mason, J. (2013). Personal communication.

References

- McCaffery, J. and McFall-McCaffery, J. T. (2010). O tatou ō aga'i i fea?/'Oku tau ō ki fe?/ Where are we heading?: Pasifika languages in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 6(2 Special Supplement Issue Ngaahi Lea 'a e Kakai Pasifiki: Endangered Pacific Languages and Cultures):86–121.
- Mosel, U. (2006). Sketch grammar. In Gippert, J., Himmelmann, N. P., and Mosel, U., editors, *Essentials of language documentation*, pages 301–309. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin ; New York.
- Rere, T. (1977). Maori spelling: Notes for teachers. Printed by the Curriculum Production Unit, Education Department, Rarotonga.
- Rickards, R., in the South Pacific, B. S., and in Australia, B. S. (1996). *In Their Own Tongues: The Bible in the Pacific*. Bible Society in the South Pacific.
- Seifart, F. (2006). Orthography development. In J. Gippert, N. P., Himmelmann, and Mosel, U., editors, *Essentials of language documentation*, pages 275–299. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.
- Statistics New Zealand (2011). *Demographics of new zealand's pacific population*.
- Statistics New Zealand (2012). *Quickstats about pacific peoples: Language*.
- Taumoefolau, M., Starks, D., Davis, K., and Bell, A. (2002). Linguists and language maintenance: Pasifika languages in Manukau, New Zealand. *Oceanic linguistics*, 41(1):15–27.
- The Bible Society (1888). *Te Bibilia Tapu Ra. The Bible Society on the South Pacific*.
- Tongaia, M. (2013). Personal communication.
- UNESCO (2011). *UNESCO Atlas of the world's languages in danger*.